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Several factors account for a problem with culturally deprived children. The larger school populations in the cities, resulting from large migrations from foreign countries and rural areas, and causing unemployment and culture mixtures, and the efforts of the schools to educate all children have brought this problem to the forefront. As these conditions increase the distance between the school culture and that of the home and the neighborhood increases. Because of this, the usual problems of the big city schools are magnified.

The first step in finding a solution to the problem is to find the relationship betwee cultural background and school learning. The culturally deprived child seems disadvantage in every area. Lack of basic skills; lack of readiness for school; lack of experience in reasoning, conceptualizing, language manipulizing and social learning generates hostility to school, teachers, and the whole business of learning.

Therefore, schools for culturally deprived children should be supplementary and counte the social learning of these children if they are to have an equal opportunity to learn. Schools should fill the gaps left by social learning at home and mend the conflict betwee the culture of the home and that of the school.

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CULTURAL DEPRIVATION AS A FACTOR IN SCHOOL LEARNING[1]

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The term "culturally deprived child" suggests only a variation on a theme. It denotes a group of children who previously were called problem children, retarded, slow learners, underprivilged, and under-achievers. It is hoped that this new appellation is more than a just another euphemism, that it indicates both a new statement of the problem we are facing and a new approach to it. The previous designations described only the difficulties of such a group in school. "Cultural deprivation" points to a possible cause of the phenomenon.

For some sort of a theoretical orientation, four questions need to be asked about this theme: (1) What is the situation? (2) What are the social and psychological factors which account for it? (3) What is the educational problem? (4) What is the task of the schools?

THE SITUATION

Two developments seem to be responsible for the present interest in cultural deprivation as a factor in school learning. One, curiously enough, is a consequence of our success in achieving an educational goal dictated by the democratic ideal. The fact that school attendance approaches the 100 per cent limit of the school-age group represents a fulfillment of this ideal of providing education for all the children of all of the American people. But this attainment also creates another phenomenon with which our schools seemingly are not prepared to cope. As the percentages of the age groups attending school increase, school also draws increasingly from the "bottom of the pile." The able, the adjusted, and the motivated, the upper 30 per cent in ability, have always been in school. Extension of school attendance can only add students from the lower end of the span: the emotionally and the physically handicapped, the less willing and able, and the less motivated, those less able to cope with the school culture and its expectations, or even hostile to what school represents. The result is that the

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[1] A revision of a lecture presented at The Merrill-Palmer Institute, March, 1963.

school population becomes more heterogeneous in practically every conceivable respect.

The second development is the increasing migration from the rural areas into the great industrial cities. These large centers draw people both from the rural areas of the United States and from other countries: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the East; Spanish-Americans, Mexicans, and Indians in the Southwest; and marginal farmers and hillbillies everywhere (Jenks, 1962). The 1950 U.S. census figures indicate that of this population 25 per cent have either themselves migrated from foreign countries or have foreign-born parents. (Bureau of Census, 1956).

Many of these people are actually making a jump from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth century in one generation. This transition involves a difficult adaptation, for it represents not only a shift from a simpler culture into a more complex one but also into a society which is mechanized, anonymous, and alienated. Recently the debilitating effect of unemployment or the threat of it has been added. In this culture individuals and families are cut off from familiar contact; there are few sources for advice and support for what one is, and little reinforcement for the values these groups brought with them. In addition, in urban centers, these migrants are hemmed in in encapsulated environments which prevent opportunities to learn the larger culture in which they exist. Instead the city surrounds them with the hedonism of slum life, and with a dangerous freedom born of anonymity which permits license without teaching the limits and controls.

These conditions create the problems facing the schools in the great cities: an increasing heterogeneity and an increasing social distance between the school culture and that of the home and the neighborhood. The greater the social distance, the greater also the difficulty in using the means of learning that the school provides, the likelihood of hostility to school, and the resistance to what it teaches.

Among the children from such conditions the usual difficulties that plague the public school in large cities are magnified. They show generally poor performance. They have a high proportion of failure, of drop-outs, of reading and learning disabilities, and innumerable life-adjustment problems. Sexton's tables of correlations between income and education show that the lower income groups show a consistently lower performance on practically every index: they have lower I.Q.'s, achievement, and grades; poorer health; and are beset with deficiencies in reading and language, the two chief tools on which success in school depends. The yield of merit scholars by professions and income levels dramatizes this discrepancy. In producing merit scholars the professors' families are at the top, and especially so the sons and daughters of librarians. This group produces 234 merit scholars per 12,672 families. At the lowest end are the laborers. They produce one merit scholar per 3,581,370 families (Sexton, 1961). Since it seems reasonable to assume that potentiality is distributed much more evenly than the

incidence of merit scholarships suggests, one must look for some other factors at work.

Meanwhile, quantitatively, the problem is increasing. According to Riessman (1962) in 1950 fourteen large cities had one culturally deprived child in ten; in 1960 there was one in three; and the prediction is that in 1970 there will be one in two. Fifty percent of the children in schools in these cities will come from environments that can be described as culturally deprived. Deutsch (1962) suggests, in addition, that at least in elementary schools anywhere from 40 to 70 per cent of the students will be from minority groups.

These conditions also indicate the new proportions of the problem which confronts the public schools: the task of providing adequate and equal educational opportunities not only for the few exceptions from the rule, but for masses of students who do not or cannot respond to its curriculum and instruction. This means that a large proportion of future citizens will grow up not only poorly equipped academically, but that the effectiveness of the school as a socializing agent is diminished also. Social distance between the school culture and the home culture results in the inability to use the means of learning that the school provides, generates hostility to school, and resistance to what it teaches.

This is not news. In 1950, Allison Davis made a dramatic impact on the audience at the White House Conference on Education by declaring that 40 per cent of children go through school untouched by it, except for acquiring a meager literacy. As characters, as persons, as possessors of academic competency, they might just as well not have been in school. From this population we get disproportionate contributions to delinquency, particularly among the brighter ones because their genius and energy turns to organizing delinquent activities in order to express their anti-social feelings.

The psychological meaning of cultural deprivation

It is one thing to recognize the difficulties. It is another matter to build a theoretical understanding of the causes of these difficulties and the psychological dynamics which underlie them. A sound theoretical basis for educational programs must be based on the understanding of the culture of the groups that feel the critical impact of cultural deprivation.

The relationship between cultural background and school learning is not simple and not too well understood. More or less adequate research is available on social-class differences in values, behavior patterns, and aspirations. We know, for example, that the homes of these children have a limited educational tradition and, hence, also little "know-how" about the school and its expectation. Not only are the parents themselves uneducated, they also have a meager understanding of the requirements for success in school. Therefore, they cannot help their children with academic content,

skills in conduct, or in kindling aspiration for continued education.

Generally, also, the parents of these children have low ambitions for the educational careers of their children. And what ambitions they have, they cannot communicate for lack of proper models or because they are in the dark about the operational steps or means necessary for preparing the child to take advantage of the available learning opportunities. Negro boys, for example, tend to have no model of a successful male. Consequently, they have no psychological framework which suggests that effort can result at least in the possibility of achievement (Deutsch, 1962).

This phenomenon has been described in numerous studies. Kahl (1953), for example, compared the college aspirations of the "common man's" sons with sufficient ability to qualify for college work, with boys from the middle or upper-middle class families on the same ability level. Scarcely any of the parents in the "common man" group perceived a college education as an objective for their sons. Those who had aspirations did not know what was needed to realize them. The author observed a similar phenomenon in an all-white, lower-class eighth grade in an eastern industrial city. While the parents who were interviewed about their ambitions for their children indicated interest in college, these ambitions were vague and planless (Taba, 1955). These facts, probably, still hold in spite of the recent rise in the level of aspirations, especially among the Negroes.

Culturally disadvantaged children also lack the skills and the habits necessary for meeting the expectations of conduct in school. The author has observed first-grade classroms where the children did not even distinguish one piece of paper from another one. They might tear out a page from one book to make a marker for another, then cherish a piece of toilet paper. They had had no training in disciplined group behavior, such as the middle-class child gets around the dinner table, because they seldom had dinner as a family group. Consequently, they lacked the habits and skills necessary for reading in groups. The teacher reported her bafflement at the fact that these children sat down obediently enough, but soon would go each about his own business.

The stories these children dictated about their families provided the clues. There were recurring examples of such behavior, especially when facing a conflict. When father gets mad he "goes away and stays all night"; when brother gets mad "he goes to a baseball game"; when mother gets mad she "takes us to the movies and doesn't bring us back".

Similar observations abound about difficulties with speaking or being spoken to in groups, and such virtues cherished in school as cleanliness, punctuality, and orderliness. Instead of being perceived by teachers as functional habits learned at home and in the neighborhood, such behavior is treated as malicious conduct to be corrected by appropriate punishment.

Another series of difficulties result from lack of readiness for the learning tasks in school. Children from such homes and neighborhoods may be

potentially able, but developmentally retarded so far as learning to read and to master the content of school subjects is concerned.

Since schools can measure only the functioning capacity, individual potentiality is a vague quality about which we know little. It is obvious that individual potentiality is an unmarketable commodity if the child has no means of developing it, or if there are no ways of identifying it. Our instruments identify only a particular limited kind of potentiality, namely, the capacity to manipulate verbal symbols and abstractions. These are precisely the accomplishments which are the least stimulated in the culturally deprived environment.

Recently some observations have emerged regarding the role of stimulus deprivation in intelligence and learning. Studies of intelligence point out that intelligence is a product of a transaction between an individual and the evironmental stimulation. For example, Miner (1957) describes intellectual stimulation as a product of the interrelationship of three factors: individual potential, motivation, and environmental stimulation. Individual potential is presumably evenly distributed among all groups of people and is probably greater than we have as yet learned how to release. Environmental stimulation involves more than the degree, complexity, and variation of the environment. It also involves motivation, or the extent to which the enviroment affects the individual's responses. Different individuals respond to different cues in the same environment. The variations in these responses are generated in part by the individual's motivation and in part by the availability of adult mediation in facilitating conceptualization. A potentially rich environment may therefore be functionally unstimulating and, in reverse, a limited environment may be highly stimulating if it is exploited to the fullest. Variety in stimulation combined with mediation tends to sharpen and to force the accommodating modification in the mental structure.

Deutsch (1962) points out that the greater the variety of stimulation and the number of situations which challenge modification of conceptualization, the more mobile and differentiated the mental structure becomes. In other words, the more the child hears, sees, and interprets, or is being helped to interpret, the more likely he will want to see and hear, and the more he will get from what he sees and hears. The greater the variety of reality situations with which the child has coped the greater his ability to cope (Deutsch, 1962). Any of these conditions—limited environment, a lack of systematic and ordered interpretation and mediation, or a limited motivation (or a combination of them)—may bring about stimulus deprivation and with it a deficiency in the development of intelligence.

Some researchers suggest that the conditions of life in slums tend to be meager in all these aspects. Deutsch points out that slum life provides a minimum range of stimulation and of opportunity to manipulate objects or to experiment with them in an orderly manner. Restriction in the range of the variety of input limits the output in expression, and reduces pre-

cision and the ability to perceive relationships or other abstract qualities, such as size, shape, distance, and time (Deutsch, 1962).

The lack of mediation, in addition, reduces the opportunities to link experience with interpretation of it, i.e., with the ability to convert objects and events to verbal symbols, to explore causal relationships, and to form abstractions.

Examination of the diary materials of lower-class children in city slums confirms this. These diaries describe the typical day, characterized by a rapid shift from one activity to another one, by lack of attention to one thing. One is impressed with the meagerness of experiences with abstraction. For example, dinner-time, which is the only time when parents and children are together, tends to be spent on two things: to mete out the punishments for infractions committed the day before, and to allocate the chores to be done. In one group of 25 eighth graders, only one family used dinner-time to describe what happened to them as persons during the day (Tabe, 1955). Bernstein (1960) points out, further, that the lower-class conversations are limited to the immediate instant and generally do not include time sequences, relationships between concepts, logical sequences, or causal relationships.

Thus, the problem of deficiency is not limited to non-verbality or bilingualism. It includes also the level of cognitive skills and of relationships expressed in whatever language is used. This combination of non-verbal orientation and an absence of conceptualization alone may very well account for what we call low intelligence.

Recently the possibility has been suggested that early stimulation may be crucial in laying the psychological foundation for the capacity to process information. If this should be true, early stimulus deprivation may create a lifelong handicap in response capacity and in the assimilating and manipulating of facts and ideas (Hebb, 1949; Hunt, 1961).

The factors and conditions described above create deficiencies in the skills and the mental equipment necessary for success in school tasks: the ability to distinguish the meaning of one word from that of another; the capacity to handle the abstractions which organize the physical, geographical, and geometric characteristics of the environment; and the capacity for sustained attention..

Cognitive deficiencies alone, no matter how serious, might be easier to correct, if it were not for the additional complications of emotional characteristics and attitudes. The psychologists describe a syndrome of feelings and attitudes which the majority of culturally deprived children tend to share, as follows: both the family climate and experience tend to induce a feeling of alienation; their self concept is low; they question their own worth, fear being challenged, have a desire to cling to the familiar, and have many feelings of guilt and shame; there is a limited trust in adults; they tend to respond with trigger-like reactions, are hyperactive, and have gen-

erally a low standard of conduct; and they usually show apathy and lack of responsiveness. It is difficult for them to form meaningful relationships (Kr gman, 1956).

These tendencies translate themselves into an attitudinal orientation which is difficult for teachers to understand: a negative attitude toward school, teachers, and achievement; the tendency to seek immediate gratification over and above any long-range purposes; the freer use of violence in solving conflicts than is permissible in a school setting. Some of this conduct, such as fighting, plays havoc in school and is therefore a great cause for disciplinary action and misinterpretation. Haystack, a seventh grader, stated the difference between the teacher's perception and that of a slum child rather neatly when he said: "Teachers are funny, they are so afraid of a leetle beet of fighting." What Haystack described as a "little bit of fighting" was a regular gang war.

Discrepancies exist also between the motivating devices used in school and the motivational patterns. Achievement as a means of making further education possible is relatively little understood. Getting by rather than geeting ahead is, therefore, the rule. Hence, grades, promotions, and all other external similar incentives used by the schools will not work nearly as well as expected.

FACTORS IN SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

The experience in school adds to the difficulties described above. Variations in background naturally create a discrepancy between the cognitive, perceptual, and emotional development of the child and the school expectations and curriculum. The differences in the meanings involved in the content of the curriculum and the meanings which the children from a deviant background attach to the verbal cues of that content is one example of this discrepancy and, therefore, also one factor in the deficiency in academic performance. This discrepancy is more than a deficit in skills. It is a discontinuity between the conceptual scheme developed and meanings acquired in previous experience and that employed or implied in the curriculum and teaching. The description of one fourth-grader of what a policeman means to him is a vivid illustration of this discontinuity (Taba, 1955).

> To tell the truth, I don't like policemen, because one day I was walking on Broad Street and I saw a police car on Western Avenue. There were no police there. I waited for a while. Soon the police came out of the house. They had a man and a girl with them. The man and the girl were put in the police car, and taken away to the jail. I don't know what they had done, but the reason I don't like cops is because they are so rough when they arrest people. They didn't have to push the girl down when they put her in the car.
>
> Yes, I would have run home if a cop had stopped me fighting in the street, because I am afraid of a cop. I did run away once and hid in my

> house. I was playing on the roofs of some houses with some other boys and the ball went through a skylight and broke it. The cops heards us and chased us. I ran home, but some boys must have told him., for he came to my house and rang the doorbell. I wouldn't let him in and nobody else was home. He said that if I didn't let him in he was going to come in through the window and get me. I knew I had to open the door then. He said, "Why'd you break that skylight for?" "I ain't been out. I been right here like my father told me." He said, "You are lying, boy, because I saw you run." I kept right on lying and he left. I was afraid, just shaking, and I felt like busting out crying, but the cop didn't know that. He thought I was tough.

The above image of the "cop" is very different from the one which the teacher was using in talking about policemen as "community helpers."

Similar discontinuities exist in the meanings of such terms as cooperation and control. A considerable proportion of material which describes family life, homes, human relations, or the work of the world consists of content which is alien to the experience of these children. For example, when a teacher in a semi-rural, lower-class area showed the pictures of the homes in primers and asked whether they knew these homes, a loud "No" arose in response. Yet, when asked to describe the homes they knew, the descriptions were both sensible and differentiated. They talked of large families who had to live in small houses, and the problems that this situation created. They could describe adequately a variety of homes, including trailers and shacks. They were just not acquainted with white houses with green shutters, in front of which stood a smiling mother with a starched white apron welcoming a father returning home carrying a briefcase. Naturally, such alien content makes the mastery of reading skills vastly more difficult.

The differences between the social learning of the children from culturally deviate backgrounds and the schools create also severe acculturation problems, which further affect their academic performance. It is difficult for any person to span two cultures. For the first-grader from a culturally deviate environment, the spanning of two cultures represents a difficult enough task to be described as culture shock. The psychological consequences of this shock could be mild or severe, depending on the distance between his particular culture, his expectations, his level of understanding, and those of the school. If the discontinuities in the demands of the two contending cultures are mild they may only impede the socialization power of the school. If they are severe they may lead to disorganization or neurotic behavior (Allinsmith and Goethals, 1956).

The problem of acculturation is still more difficult for the minority children, for in their case the problems of isolation, language, conduct, and the difficulties with academic content converge. Elam (1960) describes cases resulting in a total incapacity to respond. Writing about the Puerto Rican children in New York, he describes the consequences of the accultura-

tion shock which causes them to cease responding altogether. They evade responsibility because to function is to fail. The safest thing is not to respond at all. Milder cases are observed in which children "tune out" when directions are given.

School often adds to the difficulty by failing to recognize the problem, to diagnose the gaps, and by demanding too abrupt a transition, by paying too little attention to the role school life plays in facilitating acculturation.

Finally, there is the problem of the hidden I.Q., which is created by the nature of the tests used for diagnosing ability, for grouping, and for setting expectations. Since it is well known that generally the children from culturally deprived areas earn lower I.Q.'s, and since it seems difficult to believe that the potential ability is distributed according to economic or social privilege, the appropriateness of the measures of ability has been questioned. Guilford (1956) has attacked the concept of I.Q. as a single ability and points out that intelligence tests results do not reflect either cultural or personal variations, because they are compounded of too narrow a range of abilities. Sigel (1963) says that such tests have limited usefulness, because the "rightness" of the response is determined by the cultural conventions assumed by the testmaker. This imposition of a cultural convention is the case when Mexican children with no experience with saucers pair the cup with the table, instead of with the saucer, and are marked wrong—even though the pairing is perfectly logical in the light of their experience. Thus the culturally biased choice of the test content, together with the limitation in the mental systems represented in the performance required, produces the phenomenon of a hidden I.Q. and undiscovered potential. As Eells and Haggard suggest, the I.Q. may be described as the cement which fixes the individual to the class of his birth (Eells, 1953; Haggard, 1954).

These deficiencies in the background and the problems encountered in the school compound themselves into a vicious circle. Culturally deprived children come to school with acculturation problems, an ill-developed capacity to differentiate and to conceptualize experience, and less well-developed verbal articulation than the school work requires. This results in lower performance on ability tests, which leads to designating them as slow learners or low achievers. This reduces the already low self-esteem and self-expectation. Meanwhile, these children are required to learn the most crucial skill—reading—at a point at which the acculturation problems are at their peak. The first-graders from culturally deprived homes thus carry a double load in their first school year: that of mastering a new skill, while handicapped with problems of acculturation and lack of readiness for reading. Naturally, it is impossible for them to master either task adequately.

Moreover, the "socialization" process is carried on in the school in a manner which induces conflict between the child and his home. In effect,

this process requires him to deprecate both himself and his parents, his way of life and the values which he has invested with feelings and emotional identification, and on which, therefore, his self-esteem rests.

The net result is that these students are labelled uneducable and treated as such. Little is expected of them and little is offered. The students, in turn, expect little and get little. Comparatively speaking, such students "get dumber" as they grow older. By the fifth grade they are three years behind. This, in turn, adds to lowering of self-expectation and generates hostility to school, teachers, and the whole business of learning. This is probably the dynamics which turns those children who in kindergarten are described as curious, cute, affectionate, warm, independently dependent, and mischievous, into the ones described in the fourth grade as alienated, withdrawn, angry, passive, and apathetic (Deutsch, 1962). Something is happening in this three-year interval for which the school itself is responsible.

THE TASK OF THE SCHOOL

The contemplation of the above facts redefines the task of the school. First and foremost is the task of developing a better understanding of the implications of the social and psychological dynamics of cultural deprivation, and the translation of this understanding into educational programs: the training of teachers and administrators, and the planning of curriculum and instruction.

Another important requirement is to recognize the complexity and seriousness of the problem. One is distressed to observe the repeated efforts to effect a "cure" by crash programs which depend on some simple single device, such as remedial reading, counseling, visits to the opera, or reciting poetry in old English. If there is a principle governing the program-building for these children, it is that no single device will suffice for a complexity of factors has produced the problem.

Educators also need to realize that the lack of success in school for certain groups of children suggests a two-way cause: the factors residing in the backgrounds of the children and the factors residing in the school program. Usually, the efforts to diagnose the problems have overemphasized the first and overlooked the second. Somehow, the fact has escaped our attention that the basic features of our curriculum and instructional methods were formulated when only the most able and willing constituted the school populations. Therefore, the programs tend to stress remedial measures ahead of the possibility of revising the fundamental approach to curriculum and teaching in order to effect prevention.

A careful diagnosis of the emotional dynamics and the cognitive styles of deviate children is necessary for effective program building in many different ways, irrespective of whether or not we regard the objective to be to enable these children to adopt the middle-class ways. Sufficient knowledge of the cognitive styles is needed to provide optimum opportunities for

learning. The understanding of the emotional dynamics is indispensible for treating these children as individuals, and as human beings with positive qualities, instead of as so many minuses and gaps. This knowledge also is essential to finding proper ways for eliminating the blocks to learning. These are tasks that should have priority over the remedial programs to correct disabilities in skills.

If the double burden of dealing simultaneously with acculturation problems and learning is to be avoided, supplementary experience in early education seems almost a necessity. Administratively, this possibility may be implemented by an ungraded sequence in the first few years, by an addition of a pre-school year devoted to the task of filling the gaps in experience, or by postponing the learning of reading. Such an addition stands a chance of preventing the formation of a negative attitude towards learning, and a lowering the self-esteem. It is possible, moreover, that the separation of these tasks would do more to improve the level of achievement than any single measure.

Unlocking the hidden potentiality requires a more radical change in the program. Both the materials and the methods of teaching need to be brought into line with the psychological realities of these children. At least in the primary grades, the content of curriculum needs to be in tune with their out-of-school experience or else derived from experiences provided by the school. Producing reading material in school in the form of stories written about some gripping and exciting experiences is not beyond possibility, as demonstrated by one first grade which produced enough stories on one trip to San Francisco harbor to last for an entire year. The stories were, in fact, well written, beautifully illustrated, included poetry, and used a precise as well as a beautiful vocabulary. Evidently, the use of this material eliminated the problem of motivation to read: children were observed coming to school and reading the stories (covering three walls) before they even removed their coats (Landis, n.d.).

Research on the cognitive style and language patterns cited above suggests also the need to capitalize on materials and tasks using operational and concrete, rather than verbal, stimuli. To cultivate mental activity without the hindrance of poor language development indicates the value of using audio-visual materials developed with the purpose of providing for concrete thought operations through manipulation and experimentation with objects and processes. In effect, this would amount to providing a greater variety of modes of learning. In addition to learning from books, provisions are needed for examining objects and processes and emphasizing analysis, comparison, and precision in verbal description to cultivate the mental structures with which to turn later to books.

A considerable shift may be needed in the motivational devices also. The research on motivational patterns suggests the futility of emphasis on external rewards and the need for stressing the kindling of curiosity, the

opportunities for experiencing one's power over the materials, and other intrinsic motivating devices.

It is surprising to note that in spite of considerable evidence of the efficacy of "belonging" in school life as a factor in enhancing learning and staying power, so little has been done in the current programs for the culturally deprived toward creating fuller participating in school life and forms of grouping and of learning which enhance interaction and a sense of belonging. Opportunities for interaction which are present within a sufficient heterogeneity in cultural background and ability would permit some learning of the culture across the shoulder, so to say. The learning of the common culture is too often made difficult when this learning has to be accomplished across the social distance, from verbal exhortations, and not from models and examples. Wisely designed cultural heterogeneity in classrooms probably would do much to reduce the cultural deprivation by providing models for motivation, conduct, ways of thinking, and aspirations—as well as for language patterns.

All this adds up to a conception of education as a countervailing agent. In today's climae, which emphasizes excellence and "no-nonsense" disciplined learning, the idea that school be a countervailing force may not be too popular. It is much easier to assume that if Moore at Yale can teach the three-year-olds to read, early training in reading for all children is not only possible but also desirable. Yet, for culturally deprived children school, must be supplementary and counteract their social learning if they are to have an equal opportunity to learn. School must fill the gaps left by social learning at home and mend the conflict between the culture of the home and of the school.

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